

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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The levirate was compulsory; the sororate common but not wholly obligatory. The levirate was compulsory, I was told, because the woman was a member of her husband's family and they did not want to give her up. It made no difference whether or not she had borne him children. If her deceased husband had no brother (there was no rule of junior or senior levirate), she must marry one of his relatives, sometimes her father-in-law. More commonly it was his father's brother's son or his brother's son (but not his sister's son); that is, someone of his family and sib. If the brother already had a family, she commonly married the parallel cousin. She might not like the brother and might marry outside the family, but this was regarded as disobedience of her obligation: she was willful like a child. 587

The sororate was customary rather than obligatory. When the wife died, her mother supplied in her place a sister of the dead woman (almost inevitably a younger sister) or some other relative of her own family. This might be her mother's sister's daughter, but not her mother's brother's daughter, nor any feminine relative of the father-in-law. In this case the second spouse was not of necessity of the same sib as the first, but it exactly parallels the case of the levirate where the substitute husband is by male linkage a member of the deceased husband's father's family, not his mother's. If the younger sister did not like the widower, she need not marry him. In earlier times a man did not marry his mother-in-law, but there is at present a case of this.

A few widows and widowers remarried only a few months after the death of their spouses, but it was usual to wait a year or two. Some never married again. [589]

Plural marriages were not common. Some men had three or four wives. "Yet such a man would nevertheless go starving all day long!" each of his wives thinking the others had provided for him. He was not necessarily a handsome man; it happened rather because he had dreamed of the mocking-bird. He seemed handsome in his dream. He dreamed of the orange-winged black-bird and the mocking-bird(?), who are friends and always in pursuit of women. They have a big house so full of wives that they 595 787

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595 have to build another to hold them; blackbird's wives in one,
[787] mocking-bird's in the other. When he saw this in a dream he
acquired two or three wives.⁸⁹

When he married the first time, he brought his wife to his home. Later at a dance or a meeting, he might decide to speak to another. When the girl's parents discovered this, they might make her marry him. When he married a third time, they might think the third wife should stay at her own home, where he joined her. A man might keep all his wives in a single house, or they might remain with their parents. But he did not build a separate residence for each.

Plural marriages were sometimes with sisters, but not often. In response to specific questions concerning Navaho and Miwok types of marriage, I was told that a man sometimes married a woman and her adult daughter by another marriage, or a woman and her brother's daughter, but that neither was a regular form of marriage. There was no set preference for marrying wives related to each other, but there was some feeling that sisters would get along together better than non-relatives. Polyandry was unknown.

192 The following words describe the married state: matátcu'ig, married; sin,áð'kaðau'g, having a wife; taxavi'g, having two wives (from xavi'k, two); sin,áð'kíc'ða', plural wives (i.e. more than two).

586 Separation and divorce may have been fairly frequent. Incompatibility, infidelity, and barrenness were named as causes. They held that ordinarily a bride could get on with her husband's family if she remembered what she had been taught by her parents: to be industrious, to avoid quarrels and to be unselfish. If a man beat his wife, her parents would have nothing to say: she belonged to him. Even if he wanted to kill her, he could do as he pleased. This sounds much like Moslem despotism and theoretically it was, but actually, it seems, no man would have thought of unrestrained tyranny. The reaction to a wife's infidelity belies the theory.

593 If a man found his wife in adultery, he would say calmly
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⁸⁹ See the tale, p. 405.

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THE COCO-MARICOPA AND
The Pimo Indians

(31) of the Jornada and towards the Colorado. Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection.

- 545 This people restrict themselves to a single wife.
- 776 Their ideas of a Supreme Being, in whose existence they believe, are of so vague a nature that I could not ascertain them with exactness. After death, they
- 775 believe that their souls go to the banks of the Colorado, their ancient dwelling-place, and there take refuge in the great sand hills, where they are metamorphosed into various animals and birds. Their heads, hands, feet, etc., each become owls, bats, wolves, and other animals. They believe, too, that the souls of their enemies, the Yumas, also find a place there; and that the wars which have so long existed between them on earth, will be continued there, after death.

- 584 When a man desires to marry, and has made choice of a girl for his wife, he first endeavors to win over her parents by making them presents. The fair one's attention is sought by another process. To do this, he
- [534] takes his flute, an instrument of cane with four holes, and, seating himself beneath a bush near her dwelling, keeps up a plaintive noise for hours together. This music is continued day after day; and if no notice is at length taken of him by the girl, he may "hang up his flute," as it is tantamount to a rejection. If the proposal is agreeable, the fair one makes it known to the suitor, when the conquest is considered complete. No girl is forced to marry against her will, however eligible her parents may consider the match. Whenever a girl marries, it is expected that her husband will present her parents with as much

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597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives and procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive parents and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoption); etc. See also:

Guardianship	429	Care of orphans	736
Adoption of slaves	567	Postage	853
Artificial kin relationships	606	Status of children	858
Adoption of captives.	727		

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Since aboriginal conditions are almost wholly a thing of the past, it is not easy to say what was the nature of family life.

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Relatives lived close together in a village. Two or three families lived together in a single house at times ("when they loved each other so they could not separate"), but such joint households were not common. Joint households were ordinarily comprised of patrilineal relatives.

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They take more pride in that family. Of course, they do have respect for all their relatives, but more for those on the father's side.

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A description was obtained from Hoot of the composition of the household in which she lived as a girl. She remembers a large house, her father's sister's home. Her aunt, uncle, and their two children slept on the south side; on the north side were her own parents, a younger brother, and herself. The southwest quarter was reserved for her father's mother's sister. Later this household broke up when her parents built a home of their own. There her parents slept on the south side; she herself was on the north side, but she never slept alone. At times the younger brother slept with her, but he, a little boy, would sometimes sleep between his parents. Then she would prevail on a girl friend to stay with her. Cooking utensils were stored on the south side near the door, so as to be handy for her mother when she arose. [356] The rear of the house was left vacant for a visiting relative or friend. [574]

When Last Star was a boy, in his house there were only his parents and his father's mother. He was an only child. His parents slept on the north side ("Parents always sleep on the north side"), his grandmother and himself opposite. The rear of the house was left for storage; food and water stood opposite beside the door. The fireplace was between the eastern pair of main posts. [354]

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All elders of a household assumed parental relation to the children, feeding, admonishing, and training them.⁶⁶ A boy's father or either grandfather made him his first bow, for example.

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Step-parents assumed the relation of parents to their step-children.

⁶⁶ The special influence of the mother's brother, as among the Hopi, and that of the maternal grandfather, known among the Paiute, was wholly absent.

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dren: nevertheless, they would never think of using parent-child terms for one another. They would be horrified by the reference to the dead. Adoption of children was frequent because of the wars. Even distant relatives would take them. When the child was adult, he would look on his foster-parents as he would on true parents. They have a saying: "never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be [as] a child." Yet occasionally orphans and step-children were mistreated. Despite this sentiment, there was a curious detachment toward children. No one would wholly blame a woman for deserting her children if her husband had given her sufficient cause.

An illustrative incident dates from about 1840. There was a Kohuana woman of the Kohuana village at Gila Crossing whose husband had died. She had two little children, a boy of six and a girl of two. She decided that she wanted to live with her relatives still on the Colorado. She thought the little children could never travel that far afoot. So she prepared provisions for herself, sent the children off to play, merely telling them to wait for her, and stole off to join the group that was going. When she failed to return, the boy led his little sister by the hand from house to house, inquiring for her. At night he would take her into the meeting house and build a fire to keep warm. In the morning they would go to someone's house to be fed. They had no relatives there. The boy said, "If I have no relatives here, I will call you all ciyi," "strangers." The two were inseparable. People took care of them. When they were grown, he said, "I have taken the trouble to bring up my sister; now someone should take the trouble to marry her." Both have long been dead.

A brother and sister had the highest respect for each other; they would not use obscene words in the other's presence, for example. Yet I received the impression that this had none of the stringency of Crow custom,⁶² but was rather our own middle-class attitude.

Relationship seems to have imposed an obligation to be at least friendly and helpful if needed. Today, relatives gather to till each other's fields, expecting no more than to be fed by their host, or they tend each other's children.

Something of this sentiment is reflected in the following tale. In the early days an American beaver hunter living west of the Gila Bend Mountains was friendly with the Maricopa. He had bags of dried beaver skins there. Some

⁶² The use of this form (ciyi' instead of kiyi') indicates that he must have been addressing the women.

⁶³ Lowie, *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 214.

Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

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parents are very indulgent, much given to fondling the younger children, and rarely punish them. But—here is the essential point—they demand implicit obedience and see that they get it. 861

For all the lavished care normally the lot of children, there were cases to the contrary implying a certain detachment. Children were sometimes abandoned or destroyed.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman, whose first husband had sent her away because she bore him no children, had a girl baby by a second husband. His family made them separate because it was a girl. She said it was not right to raise a child who had no father, implying it was a bastard, so she drowned it. 847

Of a woman now living they say, "She was raised in a coyote's mouth." When she was a newlyborn (?) baby, her mother did not want her and put her off in the bushes. Her children had always died when but a few days or weeks old, so she thought it was no use trying to raise this one. They say a coyote must have kept the baby in his mouth all night, and in the morning opened it so the sun would warm the child. (This was, of course, a saying, not a belief.) Next morning the husband's mother said she did not want the child to die, so she fetched it and brought it up. It was given to various relatives to nurse. The girl, now in middle life, says she is "mean" because she was abandoned to die; that now her mother is old, she expects care from her daughter, but why should she give it? As a matter of fact, it is well known that she takes good care of her mother. 736 855

About 1840 a Kohuana widow of Gila Crossing decided that she wanted to rejoin her relatives still on the Colorado. She did not think her children, a boy of six and a girl of two, could make the long journey across the desert, so she abandoned them. Telling them to go to play, she stole away. The children slept in the meeting house and ate with whom they could. They had no relatives there, but people befriended them.

There was a saying: never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be a child (childish); which also implies their consideration for the aged. 885 888

Captive children, other than those sold immediately, were reared much like one's own. When a capture was made, the child was always turned over to an old man, who had not much longer to live anyway, for a captive might cause its captor to sicken. For sixteen days following the capture, the captive had to bathe, eat and sleep apart like the actual captor until it was purified. [783] The old man's family would usually rear the child kindly, treat it as a son or daughter, especially if their own daughter was fond of her adopted sister. Others than members of this family might abuse them, but after they were grown and married to [597] 563 727